

knows, as I do—in Illinois we have faced these natural disasters; 48 States have this year. Hurricane Irene, I know, did tremendous damage in the State of New York. Earlier this year in the spring the flooding on the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers did tremendous damage in my State of Illinois. We cannot predict when these natural disasters will come, and we certainly cannot predict how much they will cost. Now the Republicans in the House are insisting that we have to pay for every dollar of disaster aid.

What are their pay-fors? Take a look at it. It is a program we created to encourage the creation of manufacturing jobs in the United States, making fuel-efficient vehicles. The Republicans say eliminate it, eliminate a program focused on putting Americans back to work in good-paying jobs, building the vehicles of the future so we can be competitive not only at home but overseas? The Republicans say that is something government should not do.

It is a consistent pattern, whether it is their message to the Federal Reserve to do nothing when it comes to lowering interest rates, whether it is their message to the President to do nothing when it comes to payroll taxes to help middle-income families and business tax credits to put people back to work or when it comes to paying for disasters when they suggest eliminating a program that will create manufacturing jobs in the United States. Time and again, the philosophy of the Republicans comes through: Stand by; do nothing.

We saw it as well when it came to making certain that General Motors and Chrysler survived the crises of the last several years. The Republican position was: Do nothing.

There are many employees whose jobs are at stake when we talk about the automobile industry—all across America. We often think of some of the big names now that we see every day in the news. There are about 3,000 employees of an operation known as Facebook. There are around 30,000 employees of a company known as Google. There are 200,000 direct employees of General Motors, not to mention the millions who are suppliers and vendors of their products. To me, that is an indication of the shortsightedness of the Republican approach. Ignoring the reality of an automobile industry that needed a helping hand meant, if the Republicans had their way, GM and Chrysler may not exist today. Thank goodness they did not have their way. The President stepped in, made the changes necessary, encouraged the management of these companies to restructure in light of the new economic realities, and the companies survived.

In my home State of Illinois, in Belvidere, we are proud to have a Chrysler facility. I talked to the CEO of Chrysler. He believes—and I certainly concur—this facility has a bright future because the government helped Chrysler through an economic

crisis, and now they are restructuring to build for the future. That is the kind of forward-looking view of the economy that we need.

When the Republicans instruct the Federal Reserve Board to do nothing to help the economy, say to the President: Do nothing to help the economy, and then threaten a government shutdown over paying for disaster relief across America, that is shortsighted. It is not consistent with the economic growth we need in this country to make certain we are moving forward.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### SUPPORTING ISRAEL

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Earlier this week, I met with leaders in the Ohio Jewish community about events that could happen as the United Nations General Assembly convenes in the Presiding Officer's city, New York. One of the leaders and a dear friend of mine and a dear friend of Israel's told me these are tough times for Israel, some of the toughest ever. She took a deep breath, gathered her thoughts, and said, "Until your neighbors accept you, it will always be a tough time."

Israel is accustomed to living in a tough neighborhood, but in recent months that has grown tougher. Confrontation with Israel is a new centerpiece of Turkish foreign policy. Leaders in Egypt question Egypt's commitment to its peace treaty with Israel. Hezbollah has consolidated its political hold on the Lebanese Government. Iran is probably consistently the largest threat to peace in the Middle East as they defiantly continue their unmistakable march to nuclear capability.

In the coming days, the next step in an escalation against Israel will take place should the Palestinians seek recognition as a state from the United Nations. Instead of negotiating directly with Israel, as the Palestinians have often committed to do as far back as the Oslo agreement, they are about to seek to exclude Israel from any role in deciding issues that are critical to achieving a permanent peace. That must not occur. This action could set back the peace process for decades to come. The Obama administration is assiduously attempting to stop this dangerous move.

Today, as it has done in the past, Congress must stand firm with Israel. It must oppose any Palestinian action at the U.N. which would circumvent its commitment to negotiate. Our support

for Israel must be united. We must speak with one voice—Democrat and Republican, House and Senate, Congress and the administration. The administration has said it will veto a Security Council resolution that would recognize a Palestinian state, and it must do that.

The U.N. rules for admission require that any applicant before the U.N. be "peace loving" and "willing and able to carry out the obligations of the U.N. charter." The U.N. charter calls for "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person." It calls on members to "practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors." The PA is not there yet.

U.N. membership and statehood itself is not a gift. It is not a right. It is earned. There is a responsible path for the Palestinians. Direct negotiations with Israel are the only way to produce a Palestinian state and the only way to achieve a lasting peace, just as direct negotiations produced peace between Israel and Egypt and Israel and Jordan.

Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu has called for direct talks to begin immediately, as have President Obama and so many of our colleagues. Why should the Palestinians be rewarded by the U.N. for refusing to negotiate with Israel?

If the Palestinians have elected to pursue confrontation over negotiation with Israel, we must rethink our efforts to support the Palestinians and the Palestinian Authority. Today, the Senate foreign operations subcommittee, of which I am a member, will be marking up the international affairs appropriations bill, which happens to be the same day the PA is considering making its plea at the United Nations. The bill is strong on holding the PA accountable should it attempt such a misguided maneuver. We cannot reward unilateral acts. We cannot reward bad behavior borne of a clear rejection of the only proven path to peace.

Many of my colleagues and I understand that a great number of Palestinians want what we all want in this country—in New York and Ohio and across our country—and what people want in Israel: a better life for their children, a life of peace and prosperity between and among peoples.

I am confident the administration will veto any Security Council recognition of a Palestinian state, but there are other options and possibilities before the U.N., such as seeking recognition from the General Assembly as a nonmember state. While it is a different name and comes by different procedures, it doesn't solve the Palestinians' fundamental problems of avoiding the tough negotiations and the internal consensus-building that are essential for peacemaking to succeed. That is why U.S. leadership is so important at this critical time. That is why we must all speak with one voice and stand firm in an unbreakable bond

with our ally Israel. Until we hold those who seek to destroy Israel accountable, it will always be a tough time for our closest ally.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. UDALL of Colorado). The Republican leader is recognized.

#### CHANGING COURSE

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, there has been a lot of debate in the past week about the latest proposals coming out of the White House, about whether the President's latest stimulus bill or the tax hikes he is proposing will help or hurt the economy. But based on what we are hearing from the White House this week, it is hard to see the point in having any debate at all.

I am referring, of course, to a comment by the White House Communications Director who told the New York Times on Monday that the President had entered what he referred to as a new phase—a new phase. He said the President may have worked with Republicans to avert a government shutdown last spring and to raise the debt ceiling this summer, but “that phase is behind us.” In other words, the White House isn't interested in actually accomplishing anything anymore. It is more interested in making a point than making a difference.

So here is my question: How do you explain to the 14 million Americans looking for a job right now that you are more interested in motivating campaign supporters than in motivating businesses to hire?

For the past week, the President has been running around the country trying to set a record for the number of times he can say pass this bill “right away” in a 5-minute stump speech. Meanwhile, his communications director is telling people the President doesn't expect the bill to pass. And the Democratic majority leader in the Senate is treating it like a legislative afterthought. My friend the majority leader said yesterday he might take up this supposedly “urgent” bill next month after he has had a chance to deal with a Chinese currency bill and a few others. As for the other Democrats in Congress, well, they are not exactly rushing to get it in the queue either.

This so-called jobs bill seems to be about as popular as Solyndra, and I am just talking about among Democrats. Yet the President is out there acting as

though somebody is actually putting up a fight. So this whole thing is a charade, and I think the American people deserve better. I think they deserve a President who realizes that governing involves working with a situation as it is, not as you would like it to be. President Obama may think the best way to distract people from the challenges we face is to stand near a bridge in a swing State and pit one group of Americans against another and hope his critics look bad if they don't go along with him, but I don't think he is fooling anybody. I don't think all the campaign stops in the world are going to convince most Americans that the real cause of our problems lies anywhere other than with the policies that are coming out of Washington these days or that the single greatest obstacle to job creation in America today is policies that punish the risk takers and the entrepreneurs and that stifle investment and private enterprise, rather than rewarding it.

When it comes right down to it, I think most Americans care more about results than about rhetoric. Let's be honest. The results of this President's economic policies speak for themselves. After 2½ years of government spending, here is what we have: record deficits, chronic unemployment, median incomes going down, poverty rates going up, and the first ever credit downgrade. This isn't exactly a record to be proud of. So I can understand the President wanting to change the topic. It might make him feel better. It might energize his strongest supporters. But here is something it won't do: It won't create jobs.

Look, if we can solve our jobs crisis and revive the economy by passing the hat at Warren Buffett's annual shareholders meeting, we would have done it by now, but we can't. Why? Because that is not a real solution. It is a campaign slogan.

The President said the other day the tax hikes he is proposing aren't class warfare. He said they are math. Well, we can do math too, so let's do the math. According to the IRS, if you doubled—doubled—the tax burden on everybody in America who earned more than \$1 million in 2009, you would cover the cost of about 3 months of deficit spending around here. If you doubled the tax burden on everybody in America who earned more than \$1 million in 2009, you would cover the cost of about 3 months of the deficit we are running around here. If you confiscated every dime of taxable income from those the President refers to as millionaires and billionaires—take it all—you wouldn't even cover a single year of deficit spending in Washington right now. Spending more money in Washington won't solve our spending problem, it will enable it.

How about the stimulus? One of the programs in the stimulus was supposed to create 65,000 jobs. So far, it has created 3,500 at nearly \$11 million per job—\$11 million per job. Solyndra was

supposed to create thousands of permanent jobs. Two years later, more than 1,000 Solyndra employees are out of work altogether, and the American taxpayer is on the hook for more than \$½ billion in loans to the company.

But here is the most important calculation: Not a single new job will come about as a result of the tax hikes the President proposed this week—not one new job. As the National Federation of Independent Business puts it:

New tax increases on America's biggest job creators are the last thing this economy needs to get back on track.

What else do we need to know?

Republicans are ready to work with the President on turning this economy around. We know what would work, and after the past 2½ years, we have certainly seen what won't work. So my suggestion to the President is the same now as it has been for months. Put aside the political playbook and work with us on policies that will actually solve the problems Americans care about the most. Let's work together on policies that are aimed at motivating job creators, not your political base. It is time to change course.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MCCAIN. I ask unanimous consent to address the Senate as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized.

#### THE AUTHORIZATION PROCESS

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I rise today to discuss a fundamental problem of this body: the fact that Congress as an institution—and the Senate in particular—rarely engages in the process of authorizing prior to appropriating money for our government. As a result, a handful of senior appropriators and their unelected staffs dictate the spending of hundreds of billions of dollars, often in a manner that directly contravenes the will of those committees that still authorize spending. It is time this process be stopped.

The solution is simple. We should not authorize on appropriations bills, and any funding proposed for unauthorized projects should be subject to the scrutiny and approval of the authorizing committees and reflect the will of their members.

We are all to blame for this problem. The fact is that routine passage of authorizing legislation simply doesn't occur as it should. Far too often, even routine passage of appropriations legislation has devolved into passage of a